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Vol. XV

July 1950

No. 4

JUN 22 1950

THE SOUTH IN BIOGRAPHY

By

EMILY BRIDGERS



CHAPEL HILL

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1950

*Published four times a year, October, January, April, and July,
by the University of North Carolina Press. Entered as
second-class matter February 5, 1926, under
the act of August 24, 1912.
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

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VISION OF DEMOCRACY

"... liberty which is the nurse of all great wits: this is that which hath rarefied and enlightened our spirits like the influence of Heaven; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves."

—Milton

"We are embarked on a tremendous experiment, this of setting up a government truly republican—for all men alike, by all men equally."

—Thomas Jefferson

From his own day onward, Thomas Jefferson by many has been accused of being an irresponsible idealist; to many others, he has been the Great Democrat. In the South, his name has worked political wonders, and even today, when society and government are complicated far beyond even Jefferson's reckoning, it is back to him that all good democrats look. But so routine has this gesture become that any study of leaders in the South, most of them necessarily of the Democratic party, does well to start with renewal of knowledge of just what after all is contained in the phrase, "Jeffersonian democracy."

Chinard in his essay presents what is needed: "an interpretation of certain aspects of Jefferson's mind rather than . . . an exhaustive biography." Because both Jefferson's ideas and Chinard's presentation of them are so rich, so varied, and so intensely interesting, this study is limited to certain of Jefferson's most significant ideas on liberty and democracy, no note being taken of his ideas on foreign policy and relations, of his belief in the beneficial role of agriculture as opposed to industry, or, of great importance, the opposition of his principles to those of Hamilton. But since the views of Jefferson and Hamilton are still powerful in divergence in America today, the second section is devoted to Elizabeth Page's excellent novel, *The Tree of Liberty*, in which the reader will find a simplified but informed presentation of the points of view of Jefferson and of Hamilton, and of the influence of each man on the men and women of his day.

1. "THE GOSPEL OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY"

Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism, by Gilbert Chinard
A good history of the United States

A copy of the Declaration of Independence

"Subversive of What?", by Julian P. Boyd in *The Atlantic*, August 1948

Give a brief resumé of Jefferson's life. Sketch in as briefly as you can the essential historical and social background.

As an introduction to the thinking and "felicitous language" of Thomas Jefferson, read aloud his expression of the "harmonizing sentiments of the day" in America, in the first two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence. In this Declaration, Jefferson, Chinard thinks, attempted to express "the confused yearnings, the inarticulate aspirations, the indefinite ideals of the speechless and awkward masses." Jefferson himself said that the Declaration "was intended to be an expression of the American mind." Comment. Explain why, to most of Europe, such sentiments appeared unique, particularly, and amazingly, perhaps, the right under government to the pursuit of happiness.

Discuss at some length Jefferson's conception of liberty. Explain the very important distinction in his mind between natural, or "unalienable Rights," and civil rights, and his conviction of the consequent necessity for, and function of, a Bill of Rights. Note Chinard's quote from the works of the Scottish jurist, Lord Kames, whose works Jefferson carefully studied: "The perfection of human society consists in that just degree of union among the individuals which to each reserves freedom and independency, as far as is consistent with peace and good order."

In the light of the above distinction, discuss Jefferson's stand on urgent reforms: religious freedom, freedom of the press and public opinion, abolition of slavery, abolition of torture and of the death penalty except in limited cases, destruction of any vestige of an hereditary and privileged aristocracy.

Consider Jefferson's faith in the ultimate wisdom and reliability of the people of America; show the relation between this faith and his belief in public education, noting especially his emphasis on the education of leaders to be drawn from all classes in society, and his conviction that only through a liberal education can men be "rendered worthy to receive and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens."

As evidence of the breadth and universality of Jefferson's thinking, refer to his opinion on freedom of thought and speech: "That it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its offices to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them." Do you, like Julian Boyd, find Jefferson's "hostility against . . . tyranny over the mind of man" especially pertinent for the study of all Americans today? Comment.

To many Southerners, the most exciting aspect of Jefferson's thinking is his vision of a great and wise and democratic America. Sum up the tenets of his creed of Americanism. Note Chinard's inclusion of "practical idealism" as a fundamental tenet. Do you think that Jefferson would find seeds of danger, perhaps, in our increasing preoccupation with ourselves as a chosen people gifted with superior wealth, wisdom, and strength? On the other hand, do you find incentive in his belief in America: in her abundance, her progress in democracy and moral responsibility, her power for peace, justice, and fraternity in the world? Is this what the Southerner means when he speaks of "Jeffersonian democracy"?

Additional Reading:

Dolly Madison, Her Life and Times, by Katharine Anthony.

Life of John Marshall, by Albert J. Beveridge.

James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist; James Madison: The Nationalist; and James Madison: Father of the Constitution, by Irving Brant. (The first three volumes of a projected series)

John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773-1833, by William Cabell Bruce. 2 vols.

James Monroe, by W. P. Cresson.

The Dixie Frontier, by Everett Dick.

George Washington, by Douglas Southall Freeman. (Two volumes published, of a projected six)

Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton, by Robert L. Hildrup.

Patrick Henry, by M. C. Tyler.

2. FOUNDATIONS

"In this great American asylum, the poor of Europe have by some means met together. . . . Everything has tended to regenerate them; new laws, a new mode of living, a new social system; here they become men."

—Michel-Guillaume de Crèvecoeur (1793)

The Tree of Liberty, by Elizabeth Page

Explain briefly the nature and theme of this book, telling as much of the story as you consider necessary.

Frederick Turner has said that "To the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier." Noting Matthew's distinction between the old frontier nature as represented by Uncle Reuben and his friends, and the new as he observed it in the settlers at Howard's Landing, picture some of the "frontier natured" of this book; James and Susan Howard, Matthew, Uncle Reuben, Ira Livermore, Margaret and Tom.

In contrast, describe the mode of life of the Tidewater planters of Virginia, as represented by Jane and her brother Fleetwood and their friends. Discuss the conflict between their interests, point of view as to the function and privileges of government, and their social attitudes, and those of the upland men. Note the contrast in social understanding indicated by Jane's question of Fleetwood, "Do you think a man can't be a gentleman, and yet labor in the fields?" and Matthew's remark, "I have it in mind that gentility is located further inside a man than his hands."

Discuss the broader conflict as it developed between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans. Note Hamilton's ideal of a centralized government built on the passions of the wealthy—in his opinion more valuable to the state than "the vices" of the poor—under the rule of an enlightened few, and of an empire through manufactures, and Jefferson's belief in the rights of states as of individuals, the abilities of an educated people, and the virtues of an agricultural society. (Eventually Jefferson modified his view on the evils of industry.)

How would Jefferson's plan "to give the little men facts" compare with the political strategy of certain leaders of the people today? Of that other so-called "renegade aristocrat," Franklin Roosevelt, for example?

Discuss Jane and James as representative of the fear of the people as mob, of the aristo's opinion of the "leveling spirit" abroad in France, and, under Jefferson, in America. Tell of the passage, out of such hysteria, of the Alien and Sedition Laws and of the prosecution of Peyton. In your opinion, could a parallel be drawn today to this struggle over the right in a democracy to freedom of thought and speech, the right to a fair trial and an impartial judge? Comment.

Symbol of the liberal mind, Thomas Jefferson was also, in many of his characteristics, himself a proper example of the American intellect as it developed along advancing frontiers. Sum up the qualities of this magnetic, humane figure as it emerges from the pages of this novel. In thought, expression, and action, is this man a fit ideal for democrats? Comment.

VISION OF THE SOUTH

"It is a noble thing to die for one's country; it is a higher and a nobler thing *to live for it.*"

—Zebulon Baird Vance

Thomas Jefferson envisioned for his countrymen the abundance and satisfactions of an ever-expanding democracy. Robert E. Lee envisioned for the defeated South restoration to its proper place in the national scene, to prosperity and happiness, through self-control, hard work, and widespread education. His personal example and his really remarkable influence on the Southern attitude following the Civil War are considered by many a contribution far more valuable to the South than his services as a military leader.

The literature on Lee is extensive, but in no one work is he more consummately presented than in the biography by Douglas Southall Freeman. There can be little doubt, in view of the care and intelligence with which Dr. Freeman sifted and interpreted all available material, of the truth and justice of his re-creation of Lee. He indicates that in writing the biography he "learned to respect and to love" its subject. A like fate awaits most readers, who will find in Dr. Freeman's pages, not a Southern ideal out of sentiment for the leader of a lost cause, but a man worthy of the admiration and respect accorded him by his own and succeeding generations.

It is with regret that the second and third volumes of the biography are necessarily omitted from this study, but in the first and fourth volumes the reader will find ample material on the personality and character of Lee, his attitude in defeat, his counsel to a prostrate South.

1. VIRGINIAN FIRST

"As an American citizen, I take great pride in my country, her prosperity and institutions, and would defend any State if her rights were invaded. But I can anticipate no greater calamity for the country than a dissolution of the Union. It would be an accumulation of all the evils we complain of, and I am willing to sacrifice everything but honor for its preservation."

—Robert E. Lee (January, 1861)

Volume I of *R. E. Lee, A Biography*, by Douglas Southall Freeman

Freeman thinks that "Eugenically, [Lee's] career is perhaps, above all, a lesson in the cumulative effect of generations of wise marriages." Tell of Lee's ancestry and parentage what you consider necessary to some understanding of the character which shaped his career. Note Freeman's interesting and entertaining deduction that to have as mother a woman of the blood of "King" Carter was in itself

"the best endowment for greatness" the young Lee could have had in the Virginia of his day.

Trace other influences which contributed to the development of Lee's character: the early brilliance and later disasters of his father's career; the straitened circumstances of the family; his mother's poor health; his training at West Point and the demands of his profession; his marriage to Mary Custis; associations with the memory of George Washington.

Joseph E. Johnston said of Lee that "no other youth or man so united the qualities that win warm friendship and command high respect." Discuss the characteristics of Lee as a young man, with especial attention to the very human qualities of gayety, good humour, fondness for entertaining conversation and the company of pretty women, candor, charm, warm kindness, love of nature, and "abounding physical cheer," as contrasted to the reserve, justness, dignity, elegance, and self-discipline more generally associated with his character.

When Lee was superintendent at West Point, Freeman says that he carried the cadets "on his heart, and spent many an anxious hour debating how best he could train them to be the servants of their country by making them masters of themselves." Comment on Lee's methods of dealing with the young men in his care, giving examples, humorous and serious.

Lee's amiability and consideration for others—his wife, all children, his friends and associates, his soldiers, his horses—was an outstanding aspect of his character, and to it in some degree was due his great popularity with his Army. Discuss, noting, in passing, Freeman's comment as to the influence of these characteristics on Lee as commander.

To Mrs. Lee in 1856, Lee wrote: "In this enlightened age, there are few I believe, but what will acknowledge, that slavery as an institution, is a moral and political evil in any country." Develop Lee's opinion as to slavery, his attitude toward the abolitionists, and his opinion with reference to emancipation.

Lee explained to Blair that "though opposed to secession and deprecating war, I could take no part in an invasion of the Southern States." Explain his desire for the preservation of the Union, his opposition to secession, his loyalty to his country, as opposed to the inbred affection for, and prior loyalty to, the state of Virginia, and the unwillingness to "bare his sword against Virginia's sons," which governed his action in resigning from the U. S. Army.

Draw detailed attention to Freeman's summary of Lee's character and abilities as they had matured through the years to the fateful spring of 1861.

2. THE CONCILIATOR

"It should be the object of all to avoid controversy, to allay passion, give full scope to reason and every kindly feeling. By doing this and encouraging our citizens to engage in the duties of life with all their heart and mind, with a determination not to be turned aside by thoughts of the past and fears of the future, our country will not only be restored in material prosperity, but will be advanced in science, in virtue and in religion."

—Robert E. Lee (September, 1865)

Volume IV of *R. E. Lee, A Biography*, by Douglas Southall Freeman

". . . April 9, 1865, Sunday, Palm Sunday. And the oaks in the forest were tasseling in rebirth." Tell, if you can, of the poignancy of the surrender and Lee's parting with his men. Include comment on Grant's just and tolerant attitude.

"Once again he told himself that, as he had sought to set [his soldiers] an example during the life of the Confederacy, he must do no less in the hour of its death. . . ." Explain quite fully the reasoning and personal convictions which led to Lee's application for pardon, as evidenced by his advice to his soldiers, his conversations with friends and Federals, his correspondence. Note especially his feeling for the South's "noble youth."

Develop Lee's increasingly strengthened conviction of the only too plain duty of Confederates, quoting from his admirable letter of August, 1865, to former Governor Letcher of Virginia; show the connection between his convictions and his acceptance of the presidency of a small poor college; and tell of the effect of his actions on all men of "moderate mind" in the South. In this connection, comment on Lee's characteristic reaction to the Reconstruction Acts, and his sane opinion as to the persisting duty of all qualified voters.

To Hill Carter, Lee wrote, "Work is what we now require, work by everybody. . . . Labour and economy will carry us through." Relate something of the manner in which Lee discharged his own responsibilities: his conscientious, effective, and understanding handling of the young men at Washington College; his unremitting labor and solicitous attention to the smallest detail of the business and administration of the college.

"The thorough education of all classes of the people is the most efficacious means, in my opinion," Lee stated, "of promoting the prosperity of the South." Outline briefly Lee's theory of education, noting his recognition of the importance of training for the vocations as well as for the professions, and pointing out the wholly constructive and forward-looking nature of his work at Washington College.

It was, Lee believed, to "men . . . of high integrity and commanding intellect that the country must look to give character to her councils." Evidence Lee's lack of bitterness, breadth of humanity, personal probity, and clarity of intellect, as indicated by his reaction to personal hardship, his ever-active preoccupation with obedience to the law and peace between North and South, the kindness and comprehension expressed in his wide correspondence, the sincerity of his religious belief and practice, reticence in face of passion, and, notably, the clear understanding of, and courageous stand on, the fateful issues of the period. Would you say of him that he himself gave character to leadership?

Additional Reading:

John Brown's Body, by Stephen Vincent B  net.

John Tyler, Champion of the Old South, by Oliver Perry Chitwood.

William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands, by E. Merton Coulter.

Edmund Ruffin, Southerner: A Study in Secession, by Avery Craven.

The Cotton Kingdom: A Chronicle of the Old South, by William E. Dodd.

Jefferson Davis, by William E. Dodd.

The Lees of Virginia, by Burton J. Hendrick.

The Robert E. Lee Reader, edited by Stanley F. Horn.

Robert Barnwell Rhett, Father of Secession, by Laura A. White.

Jefferson Davis, by Robert W. Winston.

TAPROOTS

Living as the South does according to a design in large measure set in a Reconstruction and slavery past, the life and work of even any one Southerner is best comprehended by the reader who has a fresh perspective on certain of the component parts of the basic design.

A Union officer, John William De Forest, stationed in South Carolina in the crucial period of October 1866-January 1868, observed with interest the life and the people around him. Though slaves were free in body, social classes, attitudes, and relationships fundamentally had not changed. De Forest's descriptions and conclusions, since he was an admirably impartial, though human, observer, offer an excellent study.

In *The Making of a Southerner*, Katharine Lumpkin fills in De Forest's background and brings it up to date. In this explanation of her own deviation from the Southern pattern, she discusses with honesty and courage a South dominated by the race question. She poses clearly certain problems which confront all Southerners, white and black alike, and an understanding of which is so vital to any study of the South or Southerners.

I. BACKGROUND

A Union Officer in the Reconstruction, by John William De Forest

Fill in briefly the situation in South Carolina during De Forest's tenure there with the Freedmen's Bureau.

Picture the classes of society in the South in 1866-67 as noted by De Forest in his district in South Carolina.

Describe at some length the financial situation and characteristics of the "chivalrous Southron," the old planter class, still in De Forest's opinion the most potent moral force of the South. Note particularly the "financial and moral paralysis" induced in this class by their terrible debts, and explain the effect on them of the stay-system.

How do the "lone wimmen" and the "low-down people" compare with the same class in the fiction of Caldwell and certain other Southern writers today?

Comment on the Negroes' great desire for education, and on DeForest's impression of the political qualifications of the Negro. Do you agree with De Forest's opinion that the Negro race was brought to "sharp trial before its time" with consequent and generally deplorable conditioning of character?

Tell of the relationship between the whites and the Negroes. Distinguish between the attitude of the better class whites and that of the "low-down people." Would you say the whites' attitude toward the Negro had narrowed or broadened with the passage of years?

The subject of slavery, in De Forest's opinion, "had infolded and partially stifled that fine genius which produced so many of our early statesmen," with the consequence that the South began to lose the power of thinking "justly and

brightly." Is the preoccupation with the question of granting civil rights to Negroes a parallel obsession today? Comment.

Additional Reading:

The South Since the War: As Shown by Fourteen Weeks of Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas, by Sidney Andrews.

The Critical Year, A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction, by Howard K. Beale.

The South During Reconstruction, by Ellis M. Coulter.

The Deliverance, by Ellen Glasgow.

In Abraham's Bosom, by Paul Green.

The Grimké Sisters, by Catherine H. Birney.

A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States in the Years 1853-1854, by Frederick Law Olmsted. 2 vols.

Plain Folk of the Old South, by Frank L. Owsley.

The Private Journal of Henry William Ravenel.

Life and Character of the Honorable Thomas Ruffin, by W. A. Graham.

Memorials of a Southern Planter, by Susan Dabney Smedes.

2. NUTRIENTS

"I am a man, and whatever concerns the welfare of my fellowmen can never be without interest to me."

—Terence

The Making of a Southerner, by Katharine Du Pré Lumpkin

Miss Lumpkin's family, belonging as they did to the "chivalrous Southron" class, represented within themselves, or certainly within the memory of the writer's father, the finest traditions of that class. Tell of them.

Describe the political, social, and financial chaos with which formerly propertied men such as the Lumpkins were faced in the wake of the Civil War; show how the necessity for a stable labor supply became the mother of crop-sharing; tell of the landholders' doubts and fears on taking the Negroes into such partnership; and explain the advantage in propertied men's minds of the furnishing system.

Discuss the efforts of white men to get the Negro to vote Democratic, the general suspicion and fear of the Loyal or Union Leagues, and the rise of the Invisible Empire.

Quote from Miss Lumpkin's unusually convincing description of the feeling of the best white men which resulted in the formation of the Ku Klux, and from General Gordon's description of the membership and purpose of "a secret organization" in Georgia, commenting on his remark that "As with most of the evils of this life, we found that we had anticipated a great deal more than ever occurred." What is your own opinion of the situation and of the remedy?

Miss Lumpkin gives, too, a clear impression of the strivings, self-respect, and courage of some of those who were the objects of Klan attention. Tell of some of them, and comment on the manner in which the efforts of the Klan boomeranged in the labor situation.

Explain how out of all of it came, with the "Restoration," a South fiercely united in reverence for the past and concern with white supremacy. Instance the influences surrounding the young Katharine Lumpkin directed towards veneration of the past and consciousness of race superiority, at home, at school, at play, in public. Note, particularly, the virtual disfranchisement of the Negroes.

Tell how Miss Lumpkin came to be not entirely at home with her heritage. Tell of her association in the Sand Hills with deep poverty suffered by whites, of

her disillusionment with the full glamour of the "old plantation," of her later experience with white mill workers, and of her contact with educated Negroes. Draw attention to her comments on the exploitation of cheap white labor based on cheaper Negro labor.

Here, then, is the picture through Miss Lumpkin's eyes: Negro, cropper, mill worker; poverty, ignorance, race prejudice, and industrial exploitation. Are many of us, perhaps, when we say, "We Southerners understand," in reality quite as ignorant as Miss Lumpkin found herself in the seminar at Columbia? What is your opinion?

Additional Reading:

The South in Progress, by Katharine Du Pré Lumpkin.

Lanterns on the Levee, by William Alexander Percy.

Red Hills and Cotton: An Upcountry Memory, by Ben Robertson.

Killers of the Dream, by Lillian Smith.

PATTERNS FOR THE NEW SOUTH

In a Reconstruction South, the paramount question was what was to be done with the recently freed slaves. Were they to continue in a state of political ignorance and economic dependence upon the former master class, or were they to be allowed the political rights and economic privileges of citizenship? The answer to this question was dramatized with violence and with bloodshed in the state of South Carolina where, after the sensational period of Reconstruction proper, Negroes worked with white men to reinstate former white leaders, only to see any fruits of this collaboration swept away in race hatred, engendered in slavery and Reconstruction, and nurtured to new life by Tillman and his followers.

The first half of the story, that of collaboration between white men and Negroes, may be found in the life of Wade Hampton. In 1876, Hampton, a highly admired ex-Confederate cavalry leader and, before the Civil War, one of the South's wealthiest men, was elected governor of South Carolina in a violent campaign in which many Negroes supported his candidacy. Though Hampton did not later wage an active fight in behalf of the Negroes, his very advocacy of "conferring the elective franchise on the negro, on precisely the same terms as it is exercised by the white men," with the rise of Tillmanism to power in South Carolina spelled his political ruin.

Of equal importance with the problem of the freedmen's place in society was that of the economic rehabilitation of the South. Pre-eminent among those who gave thought to this latter problem was Henry W. Grady of Georgia. The son of a merchant who, prior to 1861, had risen to affluence in his own community, Grady in a South wretchedly poor recognized, along with the urgency for agricultural reform, the value of industrial development as a basis for economic regeneration. A splendid newspaperman and a fine orator, Grady was unsparing in his efforts to allay "obstructive prejudices," place the South in a sympathetic light, publicize its resources, and thus draw Northern capital for Southern development. In his biography, Raymond B. Nixon gives a well balanced discussion of Grady the human being, the newspaperman, the orator, and, most important, the crusader.

1. FOR A WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT

Giant In Gray, A Biography of Wade Hampton of South Carolina,
by Manly Wade Wellman

A Diary From Dixie, by Mary Boykin Chesnut

As Hampton in his person represented the traditional ideal of Southern manhood, so in his family he represented the traditional American ideal of the rise from obscurity to wealth. Tell of his woodsmen and warrior forbears, his colorful grandfather, the eventual Hampton wealth in land and slaves. Outline in brief the chief events of Hampton's own life, with attention to his fundamental characteristics. For a surpassing picture of the Hamptons and their class, consult *A Diary From Dixie*.

Point out Hampton's anti-slavery and anti-secession views, mentioning briefly the difficulties facing slaveholders who might have sought means of freeing their slaves.

The surrender completed, explain Hampton's attitude, in line with Lee's, with reference to the duty and responsibility of Southerners in the restoration of the South.

Describe conditions under the Radicals in South Carolina. Draw attention to the initiative, good judgment, and moral courage of certain of the freedmen.

Tell of the Red Shirt campaign in 1876, of the part Negroes played, and, at some length, of the quality of Hampton's leadership.

Discuss Hampton's work as a public official, with emphasis on his continuing efforts toward cooperation with the president and with Northern Democrats, and toward reconciliation of the South with the North, of the North, by refusal of the Force Bill, with the South, and of the races with each other.

Hampton's lot fell in one of the most confused and confusing periods in our history. Wellman sees him as a man of character, moderate, patient, honest, forbearing, and humane. The Negro leader, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, believes that "Wade Hampton proposed to accept the [Reconstruction] acts, but only with the idea of finally dominating the Negro vote and having Negroes follow the lead of their former masters," and that Hampton, in the campaign of 1876, was party to the deliberate deception of the Negroes. The historian, Francis Butler Simkins, says "This moderate aristocrat [Wade Hampton] erected a façade of promises calculated to reap Negro votes and placate Northern public opinion." Hampton himself was undoubtedly confident of the humanity and justice of his attitude toward the freedmen, and of the purity of his desire, "to restore our State government to decency, to honesty, to economy, and to integrity." What is your opinion?

Additional Reading:

Lucius Q. C. Lamar: Secession and Reunion, by Wirt A. Cate.

Black Reconstruction in America, by W. E. B. Du Bois.

Wade Hampton and the Negro: The Road Not Taken, by Hampton M. Jarrell.

Benjamin F. Perry, South Carolina Unionist, by Lillian Kibler.

South Carolina During Reconstruction, by Francis Butler Simkins and Robert H. Woody.

2. FOR AN ECONOMY

"Fast mails, small farms, colonies of immigrants, internal improvements, new industries—these are the channels through which

the south can command the respect and sympathy of the north—and through which she can best command her own self-respect.”

—Henry W. Grady

Henry W. Grady: Spokesman of the New South, by Raymond B. Nixon

Grady's short life was a vigorous and illuminating expression of his personality. Give in brief the events of his life, with note of his breadth of interests and determining characteristics. Draw attention to probable inheritance from the Irish Gradys and the French Huguenot Gartrells.

Tell of Grady as newspaperman and orator. Point attention to his ideals as newspaperman and to the high emotional content of his oratory and writing.

Interesting as human being, intriguing as reporter and orator, it is as symbol of the spirit of the, so-called, New South that Grady made his lasting impression. Sketching in, where necessary, essential background, discuss at some length his program for economic rehabilitation: reconciliation between North and South; dominance of the white race coupled with the duty of the white man to work out peaceful race relations and grant justice and equality of opportunity to the Negro; diversification of crops and the introduction of modern methods in agriculture; seizure of the South's opportunity for progress and rehabilitation through development of her rich resources; and attraction of necessary Northern capital.

Illustrate each section above with characteristic anecdotes and quotation from Grady's witty and expressive pen.

Grady's humanity and desire to benefit his native South have never been questioned, and to the present many Southerners admit to no better pattern for the Southern United States than that advocated by him and his friends. Evaluate the pattern for yourself. Would you say, for example, that progress consequent on the investment of Northern capital in the South has outweighed exploitation of cheap labor? How important in the pattern of Southern life has been the continuing financial dependence of the South on Northern capital? Has white dominance brought the peaceful race relations which Grady considered essential to progress?

Additional Reading:

Life and Times of Joseph E. Brown, by Herbert Fielder.

Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, State Rights Unionist, by Percy S. Flippin.

Benjamin H. Hill: Secession and Reconstruction, by Haywood Jefferson Pearce, Jr.

The Life of Jonathan M. Bennett: A Study of the Virginias in Transition, by Harvey Mitchell Rice.

Little Aleck: A Life of Alexander H. Stephens, by E. Ramsay Richardson.

"Marse Henry": An Autobiography, by Henry Watterson. 2 vols.

CHAPTER V

BONDSMEN FREED

"The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God."

—Thomas Jefferson

When Frederick Douglass died, his mantle as leader of the Negro race in the United States fell upon Booker T. Washington, the story of whose life and achievements is not only stirring but, in view of the obstacles to greatness in his path, all but incredible. Washington undertook to give a race a start—a race without the advantages of education, property, or tools with which to make a beginning, or even to meet the demands made upon it by white men who were themselves struggling to create a new life. His goal for his people was primarily one of self-rescue from economic bondage, but in placing upon the Negro the burden of his own deliverance, he did not relieve the white race of responsibility. He saw only too clearly the necessity for intelligent cooperation between two races destined to rise or fall together.

Basil Mathews in his absorbing biography of Washington has over-simplified social and economic problems, particularly those which led to civil war. He does so, apparently, to place Washington directly against the background importunate in his life and work.

If Washington needed, other than himself, an example of the potentialities of his race, he had it in George Washington Carver of his own Tuskegee faculty. A figure of intelligence, humanity, and accomplishment, Carver accepted his honors as a Negro, proud of his blood and dedicated to the welfare and advancement of his race. Rackham Holt's biography, particularly in the first half, has caught the rare, all but poetic quality of this man whose whole self and life were devoted to the sober, practical demands of science.

In evaluating the work of Washington and Carver, pioneers of their kind, the reader should keep constantly in mind that the foundations they were laying for the emancipation of their race were set against the growing antagonism of white men who were determined, if it lay within their power, to keep the Negro without land, vote, or school.

1. TO LIFT A PEOPLE

"It is just as sure in America and in the South, as it is elsewhere, that a nation or a people cannot gain the highest success, even in a material sense, when one large portion of the population is so helpless and so inefficient as to be a burden, rather than a help, to the other portion. . . . Just as the degradation of one class or one race means eventually the dragging down and degradation of the other, so it is true, on the other hand, that the elevation and emancipation of one class or race means the elevation and emancipation of the other."

—Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington, Educator and Interracial Interpreter, by Basil Mathews

Washington came into national prominence with a speech in Atlanta in 1895. Read from this speech excerpts which you consider significant, those, for example, which express his conception of the indissoluble community of interests between the races, and of the concern of the Negro in the economic and social organization of the region. Note his cogent appeal for the cooperation of the white people.

Discuss Washington's character as it had developed to his thirty-ninth year, telling of his life and education, with full attention to his slavery and African background, and his formative years.

Describe the condition in which Washington had found his people when he was himself prepared to help them. Explain the stunning effect of freedom on the Negroes, and Washington's clear vision of the "perpetual shackles of debt" being forged by the crop-sharing system.

Tell of the founding and development of Tuskegee.

Discuss Washington's program of training to meet the immediate fundamental needs of the freedmen: land ownership, decent dwellings, multiple subsistence food crops, and animals. Call attention to his dual aim: through mental training to develop character and give "strength and culture to the mind," and through training in skills to plant the Negroes "upon the soil . . . where all races and nations that have ever succeeded have gotten their start." Note here his compelling belief in the essential dignity of labor—and of the pig.

Mathews says that "Booker Washington's greatness lay in reverence for the personality of the most ragged, illiterate lout." Tell something of the students who came to Tuskegee in its early years, and of the need to educate not alone in the skills and out of books, but in the habits of good living. As example of the "creative effect" of Washington's personal relationship with his students, tell the story of Thomas Campbell, perhaps, or of Jailous Purdue.

Give other examples of this creative gift: movable schools of agriculture, the Tuskegee Negro Conference, "Jeanes Teachers," the National Negro Business League, work with the Rosenwald and Carnegie funds, etc.

Explain Washington's belief in "cooperation with compromise as the most practical path to reform," and his constant effort to encourage a constructive, co-operative attitude in North and South, in white man and Negro, for the progress not alone of the South but of the nation. In this connection, discuss briefly his stand on controversial subjects: enfranchisement of the Negro (note surely his statement quoted on pp. 206-7), segregation, lynching, civil rights.

Washington's leadership has been bitterly assailed. Explain the nature of the criticism. Do you agree with his critics? Or would you agree that in a tragic and

crucial period he pointed the path away from prejudice and animosity, and offered to his race a road to self-respect and independence?

In this vision, Washington trusted to the innate good will, honesty, and intelligence of the white man. Have the white people in the South met his efforts half-way? Is their action their loss or their gain? Comment.

2. "GOD'S LITTLE WORKSHOP"

"Nothing is more beautiful than the loveliness of the woods before sunrise. At no other time have I so sharp an understanding of what God means to do with me as in these hours of dawn. When other folk are still asleep, I hear God best and learn His plan."

—George Washington Carver

George Washington Carver, An American Biography, by Rackham Holt

Carver's early life was wholly indicative of his character. Tell of it, with especial note of his "knowledgeable hands," his recognition of the "beauty inherent in order and design," his efforts to get an education, his logical mind, natural optimism, and social conscience, and his unhappy awakening to race prejudice. Summarize here, briefly, his later views on an intelligent procedure for his race.

Describe Carver's college years, his associations, his love of painting and of the earth and plants, and his consecrated desire to be of service to his race.

Place Carver against the background of Tuskegee. Describe his ingenious adaptation to conditions and to students, and the everwidening scope of his responsibilities and of his activities.

Everywhere he went, Carver found wasted land and wasted lives. Discuss his plan of attack on "the Juggernaut cotton," together with the variety and simplicity of his suggestions for rebuilding the soil, his work with cowpeas, sweet potatoes, peanuts, and clay, that, in the words of his assistant, "even the poorest of God's creatures might be healthier, his home more comfortable, his surroundings more beautiful, his life more significant." Take note of Carver's always practical solutions to the problems of the poor and ignorant, and the homeliness of his approach to those he would help.

It was not, in Carver's opinion, so much money that the South lacked as manufacturing wisdom. Describe his widening vision of the union between chemistry, industry, and agriculture, of farms not as mere money-crop or food-producing units, but as the source of raw materials of industry. Give examples, other than those above, of the interesting and remarkable potentialities he developed in his experiments in creative science, mark his attitude toward commercialization of his work, and follow his growing fame.

At Tuskegee, Carver's laboratory was known as "God's Little Workshop." Discuss the mystical nature of his faith and his belief that science and religion were compatible. Constructive as all of his work was, where do you think he would stand on the destructive uses to which science is being put today?

Additional Reading:

Five North Carolina Negro Educators.

Harriet Tubman, by Earl Conrad.

The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, by Frederick Douglass.

From Slavery to Freedom and *The Free Negro in North Carolina*, by John Hope Franklin.

Lunsford Lane; or Another Helper From North Carolina, by William G. Hawkins.

American Negro Slavery, by Ulrich B. Phillips.

Twenty-Two Years A Slave and Forty Years A Freeman, by Austin Steward.

Up From Slavery: Story of My Life and Work, by Booker T. Washington.

CHAPTER VI

CRUSADERS

As Henry Grady of Georgia pointed a "New South" toward reconciliation and industrial development, and Booker T. Washington opened horizons to the Negro, so men emerged to lead the Southern people in demand for education, social reform, economic equality, and freedom from the growing tyranny of increasingly powerful interests. Of many such men, biographies either have not been written or are not, for reasons of length, included in this outline. But the record of vision, humanity, and leadership must not be omitted, so for the usual biography there is substituted the collection of essays, *Southern Pioneers in Social Interpretation*, edited by Howard W. Odum, himself a potent voice in the South today.

Logically the biography of Edwin A. Alderman, leader in education, should follow here, but the temptation to use it in the next chapter was too great, particularly since the biography of an outstanding leader of the farmers' movement in the 1870's and 1880's is available. Although much remains to be written in interpretation of this movement, the leadership and convictions of Leonidas LaFayette Polk of North Carolina, and of others like him, should be considered in the light of his biographer's statement that "In the fight for industrial democracy since the Civil War, the 'agrarian crusade,' the Progressive Movement, and Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal have been successive, connected steps."

1. "A PASSION FOR CONSTRUCTIVENESS"

Southern Pioneers in Social Interpretation, edited by Howard W. Odum

Summarize and comment on the argument of "A Southern Promise."

Explain, insofar as you wish, the ideas which informed the lives of those in this book who interest you most.

Read aloud Connor's lucid essay on Walter Hines Page.

Stimulate discussion of Page's "democratic concept which sees the state as a beneficent social agent," a state "not only in which no man is so high that the law of the common good cannot reach him, but also, in the words of Charles B. Aycock, that higher and finer thing, a state in which 'no man is so low that it shall not reach down to him to lift him up if may be and set him on his feet again and bid him Godspeed to better things.'"

Comment on Page as a spiritual forbear of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

2. BOLD PROTEST

"... stand here and ask why it is in this great country of ours ... with all our rich soil, improved as it has been, admirably adapted to cultivation, with great lines of transportation, and equal productive power and protected as it is, and then ask in the name of justice why it is that a man in this country should work hard, live hard, and die poor."

—Leonidas LaFayette Polk

Leonidas LaFayette Polk, Agrarian Crusader, by Stuart Noblin

In a true sense, Polk's experience to 1877 was but preparation for his life's work. Summarize the course of his life to that date, noting his serious moral outlook, and the variety of his interests and activities. Call attention to his early advocacy of diversification of crops, organization of farmers, break-up of large poorly tended farms, and immigration.

In dismissing the "Negro experiment" and advocating immigration, does the puzzling indifference of Polk and other responsible men in the South to the fate of the colored man surprise you? Comment. Recall Booker T. Washington's later eloquent appeal against such a demand.

In 1877 Polk became the first Commissioner of Agriculture in North Carolina. Quote him on the basic needs of the State, and tell of his work and of his defeat by the conservatives.

The late R. D. W. Connor believed that nowhere other than in North Carolina in the 1880's "is there a better illustration of Jefferson's theory that a political thunderstorm is necessary in a democracy at least once every generation." Review again the "poverty in the midst of plenty" of farmers caught in the cycle of the one-crop, buy-all system, bolstered by the "crap lien"; note the prevalent illiteracy and widespread emigration, commenting on the reasons for, and the white attitude toward, the Negro exodus; explain the paralysis, induced by "Bourbon" absorption in white supremacy, of effective progress in measures necessary for the public good; and tell of the growing power of business and industry as it affected the farmer.

Amidst such conditions, Polk launched the *Progressive Farmer*. Describe the nature of this paper, and discuss the objectives it set itself and the causes it championed that the farmer might prosper and his voice be heard in the counsels of the State.

Discuss the farmers' increasingly effective efforts at organization, with pointed attention to the constructive thinking of the organized farmers as evidenced by the part they played, led by Polk and his paper, in the founding of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and the outstanding work, notably in the field of education, of the Farmers' Legislature of 1891.

Tell of Polk's emergence as a leader of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. Comment on his perception of the common interests of the South and West, explain the objectives of the Alliance, and tell of the fear of the movement on the part of the dominant parties, and the effort to destroy it by destroying its leaders, notably Polk.

Unafraid, Polk stood on his belief in the evils inherent in the "aggressive encroachment and arrogant assumptions" of centralized wealth in disregard of private rights and justice. Draw attention to his ultimate conviction of the necessity to seek justice in a third party, tell something of the Industrial Congress of 1892, sketch in other essential background of the Populist movement, and indicate the part Polk probably would have played except for his untimely death.

Do you agree with Noblin that this movement which Polk helped to spearhead was a step toward Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal? Comment, drawing attention, as a matter of interest, to the number of Alliance objectives that have since been embodied in the law of the land.

Additional Reading:

Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters, by Ray S. Baker. 7 vols.

Madeline McDowell Breckinridge; A Leader in the New South, by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge.

Life of Zebulon B. Vance, by Clement Dowd.

Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris, by Julia C. Harris.

Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page, by Burton J. Hendrick. 3 vols.

The Training of an American; The Earlier Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page, by Burton J. Hendrick.

Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock, by C. H. Poe and R. D. W. Connor.

The Woman Who Rang the Bell, by Phillips Russell.

CHAPTER VII

FOR AN INFORMED ELECTORATE

"... it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing [tyranny] would be, to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large. . . ."

—Thomas Jefferson

No two men offer greater contrast in personality, method, and achievements than do Thomas Watson of Georgia and Edwin A. Alderman of North Carolina and Virginia. In their lives, the constructive and destructive forces at work in the South around the turn of the century stand in vivid contrast. Each of them was—Alderman always, Watson in the beginning—a democrat, and each in his own way set out to fight poverty and ignorance. But Watson, the politician, used his powers eventually to lead the people away from democracy into the tyranny, not necessarily of government but of prejudice and hate, while Alderman, the educator, throughout his life pursued an ideal which, if attained, should render impossible such a career as that of Watson's later years. (The horrific results in the South of the kind of crusade to which Watson devoted his later years are recounted in several of the books listed at the end of section 1 of this chapter.)

Woodward's biography of Watson is especially valuable for the manner in which it illuminates as well as the man, the political, economic, and social factors of the period. Malone, in his biography of Alderman, clarifies equally the aims of the long range program for a trained electorate.

1. ONE WHO FAILED

"It is a strange desire . . . to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self."

—Francis Bacon

Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel, by C. Vann Woodward

"Let the fullness of the tide roll in," Henry Grady, in radiant optimism, exhorted a South "almost pathetic in its desperation." Tell again briefly of that full tide, of the New Departure, and of the South of the 1880's which, in the words of Henry Watterson, "having had its bellyful of blood, has gotten a taste of money, and is too busy trying to make more of it to quarrel with anybody."

In contrast, place the agricultural masses with their "undaunted consciousness of rags and tatters," the crowds of "impoverished farmers with the raw corn liquor of revolt racing in their veins," and the apathetic victims of the lien system, of the "Rob Roys of Commerce," and of the "robber tariff."

In this scene moved Watson. Outline briefly his life to 1896, calling attention to his early close kinship with poverty and obscurity, with the country and country people.

Give some idea of Watson's personal appearance, his flamboyant, aggressive personality, his volatile, dramatic temperament. Quote from his bold, colorful, often witty speech, littered with homely references.

Recall succinctly the demands of labor and the Southern farmer, and discuss at length Watson's creed and the convictions for which he fought during the period ending in 1896. Examine Watson's personal reactions during the same period to poverty, helplessness, and greed, as indicated by his stand on class legislation, for instance, or on labor, or his attitude toward minorities.

Woodward says that "Tom Watson was perhaps the first native white Southern leader of importance to treat the Negro's aspirations with the seriousness that human strivings deserve." Make clear Watson's conception in the period to 1896 of the Negro's place in any just program, and of the identity of interests of the Negro with other farmers, croppers, and laborers. Quote his plea to "wipe out the color line, and put every man on his citizenship irrespective of color." Mention, for the record, his attitude toward social equality of the races.

Describe the road the Populists, under Watson's leadership, traveled in Georgia, and tell of the bitterness and violence of campaigns. Tell something of the *année terrible*, of the growing power of the Populists in the nation, and, finally of the political betrayal of Watson and the mid-rovers by the Democrats and Fusionists.

In your opinion, might Watson, up to 1896, be included among those "valiant soldiers of progress" waging battle for humanity's sake, whom he so much admired, or was he merely one who, superbly equipped with "the weapons of the emotional evangelist," would storm the high places of his country? Discuss, taking note of Woodward's belief that Watson was at that time an "uncompromising idealist," and of the opinion of such men as Hamlin Garland and Theodore Roosevelt.

Follow briefly Watson's career after 1896, describing as painlessly as you can the total degeneration of the man, his methods, and his views. Draw attention to the excuse that since the race question stopped progress, the Negro must be eliminated from all consideration.

Woodward believes that the later Watson was produced by "the sinister forces of intolerance, superstition, prejudice, religious jingoism, and mobbism," which he was himself accused of producing, that these forces "thwarted at every turn his courageous struggle in the face of them during his early Populist battles, and they led him into the futility and degeneration of his later career." What do you think? How do you feel about Woodward's further "private feeling that [Watson's] story is also in many ways the tragedy of a class, and more especially the tragedy of a section"? Comment.

Additional Reading:

The Southern Country Store, by Lewis E. Atherton.

The Life of William Jennings Bryan, by Genevieve F. Herrick and John O. Herrick.

Louisiana Hayride, The American Rehearsal for Dictatorship, 1928-1940, by Harnett T. Kane.

A Lion Is In The Streets, by Adria L. Langley.

Dixie Demagogues, by Allan A. Michie and Frank Ryhlick.

The Life of Robert Toombs, by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips.

Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian, by Francis Butler Simkins.

The Kingfish, A Biography of Huey P. Long, by Webster Smith.

All The King's Men, by Robert Penn Warren.

Magazine:

"Mr. Blease of South Carolina," by O. L. Warr, in *The American Mercury*, January 1929 (v. 16, pp. 25-32).

2. "GREAT COMMONER OF EDUCATION"

"There is nothing too good for democracy. Surely its primal needs are strength and virtue and simplicity and freedom. Does it not also need beauty and dignity and grandeur, if you will, and all the things which minister to the spirit? Else it perish of vulgar strength."

—Edwin A. Alderman

Edwin A. Alderman, A Biography, by Dumas Malone

Explain the state of education in the South and the apathy of public opinion when Edwin Alderman came on the scene in 1882. Include some discussion of the state of Southern colleges and universities at the turn of the century, compared to those in other sections of the country, and mention the opposition of some of the churches to state aid to higher education.

Malone refers to Alderman as "by virtue of his achievements an aristocrat in ermine." Tell something of his modest antecedents and of his personal life, trace briefly his professional career, and discuss at some length his achievements, particularly his part in arousing public opinion in support of public education, and in the development of educational agencies.

Present an impression of Alderman, the man: the richness and color of his personality, "the ordered beauty of his speech," his urbanity and dignity, his intense enthusiasm, his democratic outlook, his crusading spirit.

Comment briefly on his conception of the history, spirit, and needs of the South, and on his faith in its future.

Malone thinks that Alderman, the builder, was also pre-eminently a prophet and an interpreter. Explain his conviction of the peoples' sacred right to education, and his concept of the function of education in a democratic society—with especial reference to the necessity for a trained electorate. Discuss at some length his vision of the function and duties of a university—and of its president—and its obligation to participate in the progressive life of the state and the nation.

Many of Alderman's assertions relative to the Negro were, "to the spiritual heirs of the Abolitionists," shocking, but to Malone, Alderman's discussions of the racial problem revealed a "humane liberalism." Discuss, drawing attention to the agreement in essentials of the immediate problem between Alderman and Booker T. Washington, and to the former's statement that since the whites were and must be the rulers, the education "of one untaught white man to the point that knowledge and not prejudice will guide his conduct . . . is worth more to the black man himself than the education of ten Negroes." Consider this latter idea in relation to the race prejudice deliberately nurtured and spread by such men as Watson, Tillman, and Vardaman.

As his horizon broadened, Alderman graduated from regionalism to nationalism. Point out his admiration of Wilson and of Wilsonian ideals, his concept, on the outbreak of war in Europe, of America as the hope of mankind and a world leader, his belief in the righteousness of America's entry into the war, his later apparent serenity in his pre-war faith even while, as Malone says, "The Wilsonian edifice was crumbling."

Of Alderman's place today, Malone comments that even in an age when "the fundamental tenets of democratic progress have been challenged and defied . . .

there is still insufficient reason to doubt that the ideas which he implemented and the faith which he kindled and nourished in his native section will survive long after the echoes of his voice have died away." Do you agree that this practical idealist, "this wearer of the mantle of Jefferson," was a torch-bearer not alone for his audacious and confident day, but for this, "our own era of discouragement"?

CHAPTER VIII

MONOPOLY AND A FIGHTING JUDGE

By the 1890's and early 1900's in the South the stage, it was evident, was set: the democratic spirit against that of advancing monopoly and exploitation. In James B. Duke and Walter Clark, both of North Carolina, the two forces met. Each of these men was remarkable, the one for what he built in financial power, the other for his lucid interpretation of democratic purposes and ideals, and his vigorous fight to put them to work in the service of the people of America. The battles of each were utterly fearless. It is to be doubted that democratic considerations ever influenced the actions or decisions of James B. Duke, himself a product of the people for whose rights Walter Clark fought. That the pursuit of money ever tempted Clark from the task which he set himself is in no way evidenced in his life. Each man, within his own sphere, is a perfect example of the recognition of a goal and its dedicated pursuit.

1. OF BUSINESS AND TRUSTS

"Make to yourself an image, and, in defiance of the decalogue, worship it."

—John Randolph of Roanoke

Tobacco Tycoon, The Story of James Buchanan Duke, by John K. Winkler

The man:

Relate briefly the essential facts of Duke's life, with particular attention to his background, his more colorful relatives, and any education he may have had.

The financial wizard and monopolist:

Winkler says that in 1902, after the British-American Tobacco Company was formed, Duke "headed the nearest approach to a world trust ever organized in any industry." Tell how he built to this end. Discuss his enormous physical and mental vitality, his genius in judging men, his whirlwind tactics, the perfection of his advertising technique, his audacity, imagination, and ruthlessness, and his "decidedly elastic commercial [and financial] morality."

Note what Winkler reveals as to Duke's treatment of, and relations with, tobacco growers and labor.

Tell in brief of the break-up of the Trust, noting the irony and humor of the situation.

Tell something of the building of the Duke Power Company, and of how Duke turned his unfortunate adventure in Canada into one of his estate's large money-makers.

The philanthropist:

Discuss the terms of Duke's will.

Why do you think Duke turned philanthropist? Discuss.

2. OF LAW AND DEMOCRACY

"I will not believe our labors are lost. I shall not die without a hope that light and liberty are on a steady advance."

—Thomas Jefferson

Walter Clark, Fighting Judge, by Aubrey L. Brooks

Drawing especial attention to his "ruling class" background, his pursuit of an education, his omnivorous reading, his capacity for sustained intellectual labor, and his independent thinking, follow the course of Clark's life through the "honeymoon of success" to his service as Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court.

Describe Clark as judge, commenting on his perfect but discerning courtesy, probity, courage, "encyclopedic mind," his demands on the self-restraint, good sense, and intelligence of lawyers, and his decisive sense of obligation to the public.

Certainly Brooks is right that "To understand Clark it is necessary to know his philosophy, particularly of religion, law, and government, for this is the key to his character both as citizen and as judge." Sum up this philosophy. Note its wholeness, and, as it relates to government, Clark's spiritual descent direct from Thomas Jefferson. Point out Clark's stand on his right to obligations and duties as a citizen even though he was a judge.

Clark's conflict with the railroads perhaps as much as any other one thing showed his honest courage and won for him the confidence and respect of the people. Fill in the background and tell of the unrelenting battle waged by both Clark and the roads. Quote generously from Clark's own statements, and draw attention to the unforeseen manner in which his fight won for him the Democratic nomination for chief justice.

With reference to an early conflict with Duke, Clark remarked that he did not fear "injustice" though wrapped in gold. Explain the situation and show how Clark's stand was of a piece with his concept of democracy. Give illustration of how broad the fight was, and of its direct tie-in with politics, and with the fight against public education and for Negro disfranchisement.

Discuss Clark's outlook when he became chief justice, comparing to the four freedoms of Roosevelt Clark's desire to make men free, in Brooks' words, "free from ignorance, free from injustice, free from arbitrary legal discrimination, free from exploitation by the strong of the weak, and finally to make women free and safeguard the health and bodies of their children." Explain his attitude to the creation, distribution, and use of wealth, and his sense of justice as it applied to both labor and capital, drawing attention to his statement in reference to the rights of corporations that "The opposition is not to them as servants of the public, but as would-be masters of the people."

Of women and children, Clark wrote that "Justice should have no sword sharper, more sudden or surer, than that which should be drawn in their defense." His fight for their rights, and those of minorities, constitute a brilliant chapter in his life. Explain something of the legal status of women at the beginning of the struggle, and tell of the conditions under which children labored. In explanation of his moving and dramatic stand for the rights of women and "the humanities of the law," quote generously from his words, including his eloquent opinion in the Munick case.

That Clark, himself a judge, was not impelled by selfish interest was evidenced in his oft-repeated question, "Who shall determine the economic questions and the public policy of the nation—the courts or the people?" Explain in general his argument on this still unsettled question. In your opinion was his stand on the Constitution logical, or was it heresy? Comment.

Brooks says Clark often quoted Hooker: "Of Law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world;

all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care and the greatest as not exempted from her power." Was Clark himself a worthy servant of Law? Is there, in "his intellectual committal to democracy," a man in public life in the South today who is his compeer? Comment.

Additional Reading:

The Papers of Walter Clark, edited by Aubrey L. Brooks and Hugh T. Lefler. (Vol. I, 1857-1901, so far completed.)

Tar Heel Editor and Editor in Politics, by Josephus Daniels.

CHAPTER IX

TOWARDS A FUTURE

No two men better represent than the educators, Robert Russa Moton and John Hope, the cleavage in Negro thinking between those who have a real faith that justice will come of peaceful approach to, and cooperation with, the white people, and those who would fight for their rights. Moton, after long years at Hampton Institute, succeeded Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee not alone in person but in spirit and outlook on the racial situation. Hope, on the other hand, was convinced that solution to the race problem called for active campaigning by the minority for rights both political and social. His concept—and here, too, he differed, in degree, from Moton and Washington—was one of individuals educated primarily for the intellectual and cultural leadership of their race in that advancement into freedom to which Washington, Moton, and Hope looked forward.

Moton tells his own story, simply, honestly, without rancour, and frankly to a white audience. Ridgely Torrence tells Hope's, and to the majority of Southern readers today *The Story of John Hope* may well be an amazing book. In insight and understanding, it is a beautiful book. No one can question the facts, and after reading the story no one would wish to question Torrence's interpretation of Hope's personality and achievement.

1. "COOPERATION AND CONSECRATION"

"... the ground of racial adjustment lies, not in the emphasis of faults and of differences between races, but rather in the discovery of likenesses and of virtues which make possible their mutual understanding and cooperation."

—Robert Russa Moton

Finding A Way Out, An Autobiography, by Robert Russa Moton
Southern Legacy, by Hodding Carter

Tell of Moton's spiritual kinship to Booker T. Washington in his attitude toward the black man and the white, in his ideals of education and training for the Negro, and in his unswerving faith in cooperation and good-will for the solution of race problems.

Certainly there is no happier, more ingratiating picture of relations between black and white than that of the young Moton and his white friends. Describe Moton's life before he entered Hampton, with mention of his ancestry, the character of his parents, the influence of his surroundings and of his contacts, pregnant with generosity and good-will, with white people, his own exceeding industry, and the character and abilities of the Negroes as he observed them. In this latter

connection, contrast the earnest, honest, ambitious men of the lumber camp and of Cottontown with the generally accepted image of the Reconstruction Negro.

Noting the fragmentary nature of Moton's early education, tell of his acceptance and career at Hampton, describe the school as he saw it, and tell something of the teachers, notably General Armstrong and Mr. Frissell, with comment on the nature of their advice to, and influence on, students.

What do you think of Moton's very interesting comparison of the characteristics and needs of the Negro and the Indian, and of his conclusion as to the real ground of racial adjustment? Comment.

Equally interesting is Moton's comparison, in line with Booker T.'s, of the lot and outlook of the European peasant and the American Negro. Sum up and comment. Do you, again, agree with him that "The firm belief of the coloured man in the ultimate triumph of right and justice constitutes his largest and most valuable asset"?

In Moton's opinion, the Negro has in self-improvement a long road yet to travel. Discuss some of Moton's work outside of the colleges. Note his opinion of the value of Negro secret societies in affording a "cramped people" some opportunity "to express themselves in terms of democracy."

Moton's own fitness for a democratic society is clearly indicated. Sum up his characteristics as revealed through his words and actions, and in the comments of others.

In 1919, Moton was optimistic that relations between the races were improving. Review briefly the nature and composition of the various inter-racial organizations in which he put trust.

Considering everything, Moton felt that the Negro had come through his ordeal "with much to his credit," while the white man had "reaped certain disadvantages from which the whole country still suffers." Turn to Carter's discussion of this latter point, of the "spiritually and materially corrosive effect that the Negro, by his presence on such inflexibly prescribed terms of inferiority, has had upon the conscience and the welfare of the white South." Do you agree with Carter? Discuss.

Draw attention especially to Carter's reasoned conviction that Negroes must be "recognized as citizens entitled to the same political rights [as white men] and the same economic opportunity and capable of making equal contributions to democratic America." Comment.

In your opinion, would Moton and Carter find common ground in Carter's presently more urgent argument that, three-fourths of the world's population being black, brown, or yellow, "The integration of the Negro in our national life has an importance more immediately imperative than are domestic or even moral considerations"? What is your own opinion about this?

2. "A MAKER OF MEN"

"Too often the Negro's interests have been considered in terms of others' interests; but we have come to the place where it must be soberly questioned by all thoughtful and patriotic people, what is best for the Negro himself as a human being, as an American citizen, and as a brother in the great democracy which we are building up for the world of men and women."

—John Hope

The Story of John Hope, by Ridgely Torrence

Tell of John Hope's remarkable ancestry, his background in Augusta, Georgia, his early home surroundings, school and college influences, and other factors that

shaped his character and subsequent life. Mention the attitude of better class white people to his father, James Hope, and to his father's alliance with Fanny. Note the confidence of young John in his surroundings, the kindly interest of certain white men, and the influence of members of his race such as Aunt Nannie, his brother Madison, and the minister John Dart.

Trace Hope's career as teacher and college and university president, with emphasis on his continual building, first of Morehouse, then of Atlanta University. Explain his vision of a Negro race properly equipped through education, with its emphasis on the liberal arts, on education for leadership, and on a broad humanness in all approaches to life by both white and colored.

Picture Hope's awakening to the terrors of race prejudice, and tell something of his later experiences with it. Discuss him as "a race man": his intense race consciousness, his passionate allegiance to the colored race, his fierce indignation at racial injustice, and his unfaltering belief in a significant and responsible future for properly educated and led Negro men and women. Note the balance always of his fairness to the white race.

Hope once said, "Civilization is human relationships in terms of peace, equality, and friendship." Again he said, "The long line of injustice is due to withholding from the Negro his right to exercise and develop his own personality." Explain and illustrate Hope's approach to the problem of teaching his students to exercise and develop their personalities, character, intellect, and, always, a just sense of human relationships. Read aloud his luminous and moving statement (pp. 288 and 314) of the obligation of the educated Negro.

Hope once wrote his son, "But I do dare hope, I do dare believe that great minds supported by an impelling heart can change society." Did he, perhaps, himself help materially in laying the foundation for that change? Discuss, comparing Hope's moving faith in the ability of the Negro race, given the opportunity for education, to produce its own leaders, to Thomas Jefferson's belief that all classes, properly educated, would produce leaders. Has Hope's faith so far been justified?

CHAPTER X

THE HUMBLE PEOPLE

"But, gentlemen, there are two kinds of labor; intelligent and unintelligent labor: the former is that which gives character to a nation, and in giving character gives wealth and power. Hence, I say, encourage the education of all the people, for by so doing you will promote the elevation of character, and give that dignity to the founders of wealth, which is justly their due."

—Abbott Lawrence

So far in this outline biographies have been of those in one way or another set apart in distinction from their fellow men. Indeed, except in fiction, very seldom, and then only recently, have men and women from the common walks of every day told their life stories. But when under skilful and humane guidance stories have been collected direct from such people, they reveal beyond a doubt a "reservoir . . . of human riches" in the South which has been, as Hodding Carter truly points out, "abused and polluted," rather than intelligently and progressively developed. For this revelation direct from the people concerned *These Are Our Lives* is included here.

Another source of progress and intelligence long untapped for the public good in the South was her women. Women in the South, with very few exceptions, have only recently engaged in life outside of their own homes and circles. And because so much of their work, humane and toilsome, is by its nature either anonymous or through group effort, biographies of women are relatively few. It is with pleasure, consequently, that the reader finds a biography such as Bowie's life of Mary-Cooke Branch Munford of Virginia. The story Bowie tells is that of a woman exceptionally endowed with intelligence, energy, and beauty, but the story of her voluntary work for education and welfare, for women and children, for the humble and neglected, might well be the story of thousands of Southern women today.

1. "SO MANY WHO LACK SO MUCH"

"Enlighten the people generally, and tyrannies and oppressions of body and mind will vanish."

—Thomas Jefferson

These Are Our Lives, A Federal Writers' Publication, edited by W. T. Couch

Explain the origin and nature of this book. Note Couch's comment on the advantages of "this method of portraying the quality of life of a people, of revealing the real workings of institutions, customs, habits," as compared to methods in fiction and in sociological studies.

Couch believes that "The barriers of well-being are not in the land or the people. They are in certain customs and habits which can be changed." Tell the stories of some of these people as they reveal customs, habits, and institutions pernicious to human well being on the land. Comment.

The stories of mill and factory workers are revelatory of the conditions against which Judge Clark waged battle. Discuss, from the points of view of some of those concerned, the conditions under which adults and children worked, their pay, their bosses, their homes, the union movement. Include, surely, Smith of Filmer Mills, and the naive young shoe factory worker in "It's A Christian Factory."

Comment, with examples, on conditions—common to most of those whose stories are told—which in shocking measure contribute to their inability to raise themselves: inherited poverty, early marriages, large families, lack of education and healthy, morale-building recreation, unsanitary conditions in homes and working places, dietary deficiencies, an inescapable high incidence of weakening and crippling diseases, with earnings going to pay for them. Are you struck with the strain of resignation which runs like a thread through the lives of these people?

Generally speaking, this selection reveals, to borrow a phrase from Lillian Smith, "shattered lives and a shattered culture." Review briefly additional aspects of the cultural level of most of them, religious, artistic, etc. Considering everything, do you think that a remarkably large number of them "maintained [their] own being"? That from their poverty and ignorance, even from squalor, character emerged bright with courage, compassion, and generosity? Consider, among others, Joe Fielding, Tom Doyle, Slim Jackson, Fan Flanigan, Gracie Turner, Kate Brumby.

Jesse Stuart says:

"... the actual worth

Of man's not what he takes but all he gives."

In view of what people such as most of these have already given to advance the economy of the South, were they, if for no other of the many reasons, worth the efforts of men such as Page, Booker T. Washington, Carver, Polk, Alderman, and Clark? Considering the rich contribution which they might give, not alone in labor but in character, are they, in your opinion, worth matching, again to quote Hodding Carter, "with the skills and capital and guidance required to make full use of them"? Comment.

Additional Reading:

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, by James Agee and Walker Evans.

The Fingers of Night, by Hubert Creekmore.

Short stories and plays by Paul Green.

I Was A Sharecropper, by Harry Harrison Kroll.

Red Wine First, by Nedra Tyre.

Clods of Southern Earth, by Don West.

High John the Conqueror, by John W. Wilson.

2. A WOMAN OF THE NEW SOUTH

"... your signal service to those causes whose only appeal was deep human need. . . ."

—Samuel C. Mitchell to Mrs. Munford

Sunrise in the South: The Life of Mary-Cooke Branch Munford, by
Walter Russell Bowie

Give in brief the essential facts concerning Mrs. Munford's background and life, with discussion of the loyalties which, in the opinion of Alderman and Bowie, shaped her character and her work. Quote generously from Alderman's very interesting comments on her personality, character, and accomplishment.

Tell something of the "mould of fixed beliefs" and "the softer mould of custom" in which Mary-Cooke Branch grew up, of her rebellion against the traditional narrow social life of a young woman of her class, of her instinct for intellectual and spiritual freedom, and of her great desire herself to go to college.

Paint again a picture of the state of public education and welfare in the South when first Curry, and then McIver, Alderman, and others like them, entered the field. Note once more the active opposition of conservative people, represented, for example, by the Reverend Robert Lewis Dabney, the lassitude and indifference of the general public, the prevalent poverty and ignorance, the terrible roads, the dilapidated schoolhouses, the sickly children, the poorly prepared and ill-paid teachers.

Review briefly the awakening, around the turn of the century, of interest in a respectable public education system, and the efforts both from within and without the South, towards its realization.

"It was there [on the Ogden excursions]," Mrs. Munford once wrote, "that I realized the magnitude and importance of the educational problem in the South as it touched both the white people and the Negroes. The major interests of my life then took form, education for all the people, fostering better knowledge and understanding between the races, and especially the rebuilding of my mother state, Virginia." Tell of Mary-Cooke's interest from early years in a "New South," and of her later absorption, shared by her husband, in rehabilitation and education of the people. Of particular interest was her connection with the Conference for Education in the South, her dynamic campaigns through the Richmond Education Association, and her share in the fight to improve rural schools, and through home demonstration work to raise the standards and living conditions of farm women and children. Discuss.

For the proper education of women, she waged one of her hardest fought battles. Quote Dr. Mims (p. 122) on the Southern conservative, and tell of the fight for a Co-ordinate College for Women at the University of Virginia, of those who saw as Mrs. Munford did, including Wodrow Wilson and Alderman, and of those who did not, and of the arguments for and of those against. Do you think that even though the immediate battle was lost the "potent" enemy in this case found, in Mrs. Munford and other Virginia men and women, an equally potent force for intelligence and democracy?

To the effort to develop "better knowledge and understanding between the races," and to the fight for fairer conditions and opportunities for the Negro race, Mrs. Munford contributed of her great energy and her unfailing sense of responsibility. Discuss her efforts in the Negro's behalf, her identification with movements for their good, her active interest in Hampton Institute, her admiration of Booker T., and the regard in which Negro leaders held her.

But Mrs. Munford's vision of human welfare was not for the South alone. In 1928, when Hoover was a candidate for president, she wrote of him as "speaking for the great vested interests and an America apart from the rest of the world," and commented, "This, and fundamentalism in religion and education, should it win, will greatly hold back America in the role she might play in the world today. We need so much to have the real human in us given a chance to be and to live!" Do you think that as an individual she herself did her share toward giving the real human being "a chance to be and to live"? Comment.

CHAPTER XI

TWO POETS

It was in 1920 that Henry L. Mencken described the South as "the Sahara of the Bozart," apparently unaware that already a literary movement was developing in the region that would presently astound even the critic himself. Yet so recent is this distinction in literature that there are as yet practically no biographies, suitable for this outline, of the writers concerned. Of the two whose autobiographies are considered here, the late James Weldon Johnson, living as he did for the most part in New York and interested primarily in the culture of his race in the United States, cannot be claimed in whole for the South, while Jesse Stuart's volume is but the first in an apparently projected series to be written through the years.

Stuart tells with his poet's pen of his life among the isolated Kentucky hills, and of the dreams and accomplishments of his youth and young manhood. Johnson, whose autobiography was published when he was sixty-two, writes with candor and delightful humour of a vigorous life which though spent in widely varied pursuits found cohesion and point in the unremitting employment of talent and intellect for the benefit of the Negro race.

1. "THE MUSIC OF THE HILLS"

"Within these hills there are no prison bars
To cage the wiry flesh and mind of me."

—Jesse Stuart

Beyond Dark Hills and *Man With A Bull-Tongue Plow*, by Jesse Stuart

Quoting generously from Stuart's prose, give a running account of his childhood and young manhood. Devote especial attention to the joys and satisfactions which the imaginative, sensitive child, and the vibrant young man found in his life and surroundings in the hills: in nature, man, beast, toil, food and rest, family affection, the seasons, the soil, hunting, poetry, ballads, folk life and customs. In contrast, note the really terrifying picture of the steel mills and of the lives that went into them, the difficulties and uncertainties of Stuart's school years, the inadequate facilities for, and dangers and satisfactions of, his teaching, the drive of his ambition.

Without reserve, Stuart loves the violent, generous, lusty, confident hill people—those from way back up where the hoot owls holler in the daytime to those from the harsh little towns. Though he can write of them in a vein as outrageously comic as *Taps for Private Tussie*, and though he takes full cognizance of their very human failings, he knows their true worth. Tell of some of them—friends, relatives, enemies—and read from the poems he wrote as he walked "among the greening hills" and let the dead "speak from their Plum Grove graves."

Additional Reading:

Thomas Wolfe: Carolina Student, A Brief Biography, by Agatha Boyd Adams.
Paul Green, by Barrett H. Clark.

John Esten Cooke, Virginian, by John O. Beaty.

George Washington Cable: His Life and Letters, by Lucy L. C. Bikle.

Ellen Glasgow, Novelist of the Old and the New South, by Louise M. Field.

The Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris, by Julia Harris.

The Irreverent Mr. Mencken, by Edgar Kemler.

James Lane Allen and the Genteel Tradition, by Grant C. Knight.

Archibald Henderson: Artist and Scientist, by George H. McCoy.

Sidney Lanier, by Edwin Mims.

Thomas Nelson Page, by Roswell Page.

Charles Egbert Craddock, by Edd W. Parks.

O. Henry: A Biography, by Charles A. Smith.

Sidney Lanier: A Biographical and Critical Study, by Aubrey H. Starke.

The Thread That Runs So True, by Jesse Stuart.

James Branch Cabell, by Carl Van Doren.

2. A FULLNESS OF LIVING

"When it is borne in mind that the race problem in America is not the problem of twelve million moribund people intent upon sinking into a slough of ignorance, poverty, and decay in the midst of our civilization, in spite of all efforts to save them—*that would indeed be a problem*—but is, instead, the question of opening new doors of opportunity at which these millions are constantly knocking, the crux shifts to a more favorable position, and gives a view that makes it possible to observe that faster and faster the problem is becoming a question of mental attitudes toward the Negro rather than of his actual condition."

—James Weldon Johnson

Along This Way, by James Weldon Johnson

To Johnson as small boy and youth, life was high adventure, and untroubled. Tell of his forbears, his wise parents, his satisfactory childhood, his formal education. Comment on the conception of the ultimate function, as Johnson states it, of education in many Negro colleges of that day.

From his youth, Johnson showed initiative, courage, a high degree of interest in his race, and a total unwillingness to be shackled by his color. With the above in mind, discuss his teaching experience in the backwoods of Georgia and in Jacksonville, his newspaper venture and that into law, his early friendships with white people, his encounters with white intolerance. In the latter connection, note his reaction, often compounded of humor as well as of resentment—in the incidents of the Spanish tongue spoken on the train, for example, the maniac and the sheriff, the umbrella on a hot Georgia road.

As a man Johnson, apparently, found life a constant challenge. Discuss the variety and richness of his activities, interests, and associations, both colored and white.

Tell in some detail of Johnson's work with the NAACP. Explain his feeling toward and about his own race, and his sense of the extra burden a man must bear if in America he is born black, and note his experiences of race prejudice in

all parts of the country. Comment on his conviction that the race problem in the United States must be solved first in the South, and his ultimate conclusion that the Negro's future is with the Democratic party.

The most lasting contributions Johnson made in behalf of his race were very probably those he made individually as artist. Tell in some detail of his life as artist: his early interest in literature, his awakening to the importance of the American Negro's cultural background, his desire to break the traditional mold of dialect in which Negro poetry was being written, his own writing of poetry and prose, and his efforts through lectures, magazine articles, and essays to give background to the Negro as artist and to point out his contributions to our national culture.

Johnson says that fundamentally education meant for him "preparation to meet the tasks and exigencies of life as a Negro, a realization of the peculiar responsibilities due to my own racial group, and a comprehension of the application of American democracy to Negro citizens"; that at Atlanta University he began his "mental and spiritual training to meet and cope not only with the hardships that are common, but with planned wrong, concerted injustice, and applied prejudice." Looking back over his life, would you say that somewhere along the way (he himself thinks preparation began in the freedom of his childhood) he was prepared and strengthened to a degree which must arouse respect, and which, combined with his attainments, recommends his race as not even his own words could do? Comment.

Additional Reading:

Father of the Blues, An Autobiography, by William C. Handy.

Selected Poems, by James Weldon Johnson.

The Book of American Negro Poetry, edited by James Weldon Johnson.

The Book of American Negro Spirituals and *The Second Book of Negro Spirituals*, edited by James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond Johnson.

The New Negro, edited by Alain Locke.

Without Magnolias, by Bucklin Moon.

No Day of Triumph, by J. Saunders Redding.

Anthology of American Negro Literature, edited by Sylvestre C. Watkins.

A Man Called White, by Walter White.

Black Boy, by Richard Wright.

CHAPTER XII

IN WASHINGTON

In personality and temperament, no two Southern Democrats contrast more sharply than do John Nance Garner, politician, and Hugo Black, judge. It is true that in several respects the two men may be compared. Possessed in general of a common regional heritage, each of them came of unassuming Southern families, each was reared to a simple life and hard work, and each made his own way, Garner to political influence and personal wealth, Black to a liberal's seat on the Supreme Court of the United States. But there the comparison ends, as readers of the biography of each man must shortly realize.

John Garner was an organization Democrat who played the game with unusual skill and rose in Congress to political prestige and friendship with men powerful in national life. His chief importance today lies in the fact that in eventual opposition to Franklin D. Roosevelt he came to represent that conservative element in the South which in its conflict with the more liberal element (often still termed the "New Dealers" and recently accused of socialistic tendencies) affords the region, ironically enough, its nearest approach on local and state levels to the two-party choice of other sections of the country. In reading the material on Franklin D. Roosevelt in Bascom Timmons' biography of Garner, it should be borne in mind that the writer is a warm personal friend of Garner's and was himself, also, an anti-New Dealer.

Hugo Black, a close student of Thomas Jefferson's ideas, is by temperament and intellectual conviction a New Dealer. His interest is centered not in a party, a region, or a class, but in the just protection of the rights and welfare both of the people as a whole in the United States, and of the people as individuals. He early believed, as John P. Frank, his biographer, points out, and he has acted in the belief, that the people have the "right through their government to improve the condition of their daily lives." His is a fitting career with which to close this outline.

I. PARTY MAN

"I have a devotional affection for the Democratic party."

—John Nance Garner

Garner of Texas: A Personal History, by Bascom N. Timmons

In the traditional American sense of the word, Garner was a self-made man. Tell something of the Walpole and Garner families, of Garner's grandmother, Rebecca Walpole Garner, of the Confederate cavalryman who was Garner's father, of the Red River country of Texas, and of the rough and ready conditions under which Garner quite happily grew up. Note particularly the community attitude towards whiskey, poker, and swearing, and, in the Garner home, the interest in politics.

Comment on Garner's characteristics as a youth, his industry, sense of the value of money, ambition, and desire for an education. Tell of the defeat of that desire, and of his training in the law.

Paint a picture of the southwest Texas frontier of the 1890's, and sketch in Garner's life and rise to prosperity and influence in Uvalde. Devote attention to his political experiences and, following his decision to make politics his vocation, his deliberate self-education in national issues and human nature.

Trace very briefly Garner's career in Washington, noting his opinion as to the relative importance of the House speakership and the vice-presidency, and the manner in which he discharged his duties in each post.

Comment on his convivial personality as a political asset, and tell something of his methods: compromise and behind-the-scenes agreements, for example, vote raids on the Republican side, courtship of prospective opponents, reliance on solid fact, yet clever use of anecdote and repartee, etc.

Discuss Garner as the perfect party man. Explain his attitude towards his electorate and towards patronage, belief in party discipline and responsibility, great respect for party policy, and faith in the effectiveness of the checks and balances of the two-party system in producing good legislation and good administration. Give examples of his fidelity to party, as evidenced, for example, in his release of delegates at the 1932 convention, and in his plea for Democrats slated by Roosevelt to be purged.

Garner's respect for good party men carried even to good Republicans. Discuss his friendship with Nicholas Longworth, and his relations with Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Hoover, and Coolidge. Recall here, interestingly enough, Garner's far from warm relationship with Woodrow Wilson.

Garner considered the Democratic party the naturally progressive party, and looked upon himself, specifically, as "progressive". Explain the basis of his personal claim—his belief in protection of the liberties of the people as evidenced in his ideas on restraint of trusts, for example, tariff, banking, and currency reform, marketing assistance to farmers, a graduated income tax, federal aid to a good roads program, a Cabinet seat for labor, an 8-hour day for factory and city workers. Note, on the other hand, the checks to his progressiveness: his fear of labor unions, unhappiness about the Wagner Labor Relations Act, caution in offending big business, political prudence, and inherent sense of economy.

Garner, naturally, was not a New Dealer. Discuss his relations with Franklin Roosevelt, and tell something of the issues over which they disagreed: recognition of Russia, relations with labor, the court reorganization bill, appointment of Senate committees, deficit spending, recovery methods, the President's powers, the third term, etc. Would you say that the break between the two men was fundamentally not alone a parting between a conservative Democrat and a liberal Democrat, but in a significant measure was due to the antagonism of a naturally cautious, strictly party man, devoted to political precedent and the prerogatives of Congress and Congressmen, towards an adventurous man, a master politician but unimpressed by precedent and prerogative, whose vision of the development of democratic government for the good of the people took no count of the ordinary day-by-day rules of the party game? Comment.

2. "CREATIVE JUDICIAL DEMOCRACY"

Mr. Justice Black: The Man and His Opinions, by John P. Frank

"[Hugo L. Black's] career has served to translate from history to public service the meaning of Jefferson's devotion to the rights of man."

—Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Tell of the poor man's country in which Hugo Black was born, of his modest, self-contained, kindly background and surroundings, of his intelligent, thrifty parents.

Point out the existence of three live parties in Clay County, and the opportunities afforded the growing boy to compare ideas and to gain insight into the problems, point of view, and needs of the poor. Note specifically Frank's summary of the general objectives of the Populists and of the liberal Democrats of the 1890's, objectives which later became Black's own. Note Frank's essential agreement with Noblin that the agrarian movement was a step toward Roosevelt's New Deal.

Sum up Black's life and career before he went to Congress. Discuss as they had developed to that time his character and point of view towards black and white, high and low. Cite examples particularly of his sense of justice and fair play, his kindness, courage, great industry, and the nature of his law practice.

Throwing in his hat for the Senate, Black said, "I am not now, and have never been, a railroad, power company, or corporation lawyer." Describe his campaign methods, and tell of his platform and sources of support. For the record, give the fact on his Klan connections.

Frank says that in his first six years in the Senate Black, a minority senator, through his own efforts greatly broadened his horizons. Tell of those years, of his reading, his association with the Republican, Norris, and other liberals, his education in national issues and problems. If you are particularly interested in the game of politics, discuss campaigns in Alabama, and the Heflin affair.

The five years beginning in December, 1932, were so full, Frank writes, "that no short sketch can even review the high spots." Point out what you consider the absolute essentials of those years as they indicate the character and progress of Black's thinking. Is even the slightest review a revelation of why Roosevelt recognized the quality of the man, and why special interests and conservatives of both parties did, also, to the extent that when his appointment to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court was read to the Senate "The resultant silence was stupendous"? Comment.

Tell of the fight against confirmation of the appointment, of the "hypocritical" aspect of the debate, to which Raymond Clapper, himself an anti-Black man, called attention, of the storm which broke on September 13, and of those, with their reasons, who came to Black's defense. Quote from Black's own reply.

Discuss briefly Black as man and judge today. Note his characteristic reaction to the Jackson charge.

With quotation and example, discuss Black's "creative" views. Note particularly his assurance that "constitutional interpretation is a product of the times in which men live," and his belief that "the tendency of today is to give a new and exalted emphasis to the more sacred right of human beings to enjoy health, happiness, and security justly theirs in proportion to their industry, frugality, energy, and honesty." Note, too, his faith in the absolute necessity, under a capitalist system, to preserve competition, his belief in protection of the rights of labor but not of labor's infringements, and his informed and forthright support of the peoples' civil rights.

Do you agree that Black believes in "dynamic government" for the good of all, and that intelligently, honestly, and courageously, he has fought for his beliefs?

In the nature of the man, will he, in your opinion, as Charles Beard prophesied, "strive until the last hour to keep open the refuge established by the Constitution against the passions of rulers and multitudes"? Is such honest courage as his most in need today? Comment.

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The Roosevelt I Knew, by Frances Perkins.

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